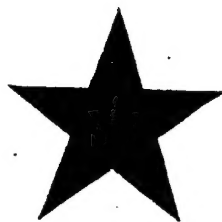


FRONTLINE

INFO

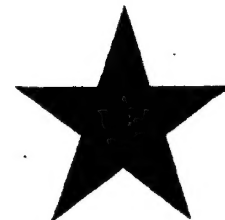


Indische G...
Hungerstreik

DEC.'88 -
JAN.'89.

FRONTLINE

INFO



DEC.'88 - JAN.'89.

We mentioned in our last newsletter that, after our info center was attacked by the so-called "onderzoeksgroep", we had received both moral and financial support. This support transgressed both city and state borders, and thanks to this support we now have once again a copy machine and also a new typewriter. Seeing that, since the attack on their structures, the "onderzoeksgroep" have withdrawn into their heavily barricaded thoughts and houses and have not as yet re-emerged, we have been able to concentrate more on the chaotic order of the day. A point to note is that the "onderzoeksgroep" has circulated, within Germany as far as we know, a statement of the events that took place according to them. As well as giving their interpretation of their attack on us. As far as we know this was circulated via the Knipsel-krant canal and was, we are told, reviewed with much hilarity by our comrades in the B.R.D.

In any case, here before you lies a part of our relatively "restful" existence. Attention of course for René, and his unexpected release from prison. Also over the fact that it is too simple to say that he was lucky. We see this trail as one in a number of "test-cases" for the juridical apparatus, "how far can we enter into the discussions concerning political justice," "how does the movement react" etc... However this process has also been a test case for ourselves and even though we have received a few knocks, we have not come out of it as losers. We have both won and learnt a lot from experiences and discussions over political resistance, the struggle of prisoners, and continuity and underlying solidarity. Our trust in the constitutional state has not been damaged, we had none. Included in this article is also a report over the prison demonstration here in Amsterdam, which was held on new years eve.

Free Palestine, boycott Israel!

Recently we put together two brochures. One (which we translated) is from Switzerland, entitled "talks with comrades from the Palestinian revolution", the other is a combination of a selection of discussion articles, poems, demonstration call-ups etc.. from various countries both in and outside Europe. In this newsletter we also include the introduction that we wrote for this brochure, and a poem from Milan, Italy, and also we give you an idea as to the state of events here in Holland with regard to both a boycott Israel initiative and solidarity with the Palestinian struggle. Salih is murdered!

Salih was a Turkish comrade of ours, who was murdered by the Turkish-mafia-fascists. This occurred a few months after the deaths of two other Turkish comrades, who were also murdered. In this article we give a background sketch of the Turkish mafia and their special position in Holland, and we also write about the problems that have evolved from discussions within the "scene" over solidarity and the working together with comrades from other countries that are living here in Holland. Ignorance, (lack of...) trust, militancy. These are a few key-words upon which the discussion revolves. Salih was a good friend, he was also someone that tried to work, on various levels, with the "scene", and we are bloody angry that those bastards murdered him. Also an article over a visit, between Xmas and new year, from a group of approx. 60 young people from Belgium, that are active with anti-fascism and anti-capitalism. They were in Amsterdam to hear and get, first hand, an idea as to how the anti-fascist, anti-racist groups work etc., as well as meeting and discussing with young people from and involved with ethnic minority groups, here in Amsterdam. Both for them and us, their visit was a success.

Lastly, we translated the press statement from the RAF about the hunger strike, which they started on Feb. 1, 1989, both in English as in German. For our contacts in Spain, we also translated it into Spanish, so that is what you will read.

Pleasant reading. Frontline info.....

Resistance means to say NO!
It is the poem of the weapon
Warm in the hand
Resistance means victory
The capture of the future
The life confirmed
That they deny us

RENE IS FREE...

At this moment it would be useless to discuss whether René has simply been lucky by having been released, or that the mistakes made during the house search at April 11, 1988, and which made the evidence which initially formed the basis for the extremely high sentence useless, have been set up. We miss the concrete evidence for such speculations. For sure his release is no birthday present from the Dutch Justice, but the juridical consequence of a mistake made by the police, for whatever reason.

What distinguishes this process from other processes, also where suspects were released due to mistakes made during the investigation, is the attention given to it by both the bourgeois media and the militant resistance.

It became clear directly after the raids and arrests that the national police team that was specially established to solve the RARA-attacks, made a big thing of their success of their investigation. Cops spokesman Wilting presented a grandiose press conference the night after the raids where he also accused the suspects of being responsible for all major militant actions in Holland over the last few years.

Above all, it was for him clear that they had arrested the hard core of RARA. Very soon he was presented with the reality confronting his ambitious claims: all the suspects were released due to lack of evidence within 10 days, except for René.

The lengthy and cost-ineffective investigation by this team turned out to be a storm in a tea cup, but a slap in the face of all the pigs who believed Wilting's lies.

It seemed, during the first process, that René would have to pay for this. Five years jail based on a poor evidence obtained during a legally 'doubtful' raid, however on the other hand with an even more suspicious guilt construction that should justify the heavy sentence.

During the process it was again made clear that it should be publicly exploited. While on the one hand a commercial broadcasting company was given permission to make recording on the other hand the lawyers were forcibly searched. The repressive atmosphere around the first court case was a one off for the internal relations in Holland.

The process was a demonstration of the legal apparatus, which had long before been secretly prepared. In Holland there exist different commissions which are constantly working towards the reorganisation of Justice and jurisdiction.

The MOONS commission: this commission is re-writing the Book of Criminal Law, with the objective of reducing a suspects' legal position to that of around 1926. According to minister of Justice Korthals Altes this is necessary because the suspects' rights against those of the pigs is much too strong.

The VAN VEEN commission: this commission consists only of pigs and justice officials who want to restructure the concept of 'offender-jurisdiction' so that it's possible to punish so-called criminal preparations ('conspiracy').

At the appeal case the legality of the police operations, i.e. the raid, was a central point. Although at the initial court case questions were raised about the procedure of the house search and the function of the investigating judge in such procedures, this was not accepted in the judges' deliberations.

On the 3rd of Jan. the judge examined this part of the case more exactly. Accepting that that the investigating judge doesn't have to be present at all times during the search but must keep control of the actual procedure; and considering that this was not the case by the search of René's house, the judge concluded that this search was carried out illegally. The 'mobile investigating judge' is nothing new here, modern communication apparatus enables them to keep control of the actual house search (according to the 'High Court', the highest legal body in Holland). At the house search in René's house there was no constant contact between the investigating judge and the operating pigs. Because of this the evidence had been obtained illegally and so René was released immediately.

The process against René for attempted arson of the passport factory 'KEP' will take place at March 28. However the judge thought that the probable sentence for this would be less than the 9 months which René has already spent behind bars. That's why he was released immediately.

About this process we could say that the direction in which repression and Justice are developing have been determined already, however that the actual jurisdiction hasn't yet been adapted enough to fulfill all the expectations of the pigs already. That's why this structural difference has to be solved as quickly as possible, and for this the political show-process around René could form a good basis. The slow democratic system could use this as a stimulating factor to adapt the jurisdiction to the expectations of the pigs.

Within the present legal system Justice has often seen it's own borders, and these borders will have to be moved forward for the state's sake, in order to be able to attack undesirable ideas and the acts related to this.

In the case of René this was about a political consciousness which was seen as a 'threat' to the effectivity of the capitalist system. And with this attack on the political identity not only René was being confronted, but the total radical movement. That's why the confrontation with René's process took place only on a political basis. The theme 'jail' became more concrete and the discussions about 'repression' grew both in depth as in the number of people involved.

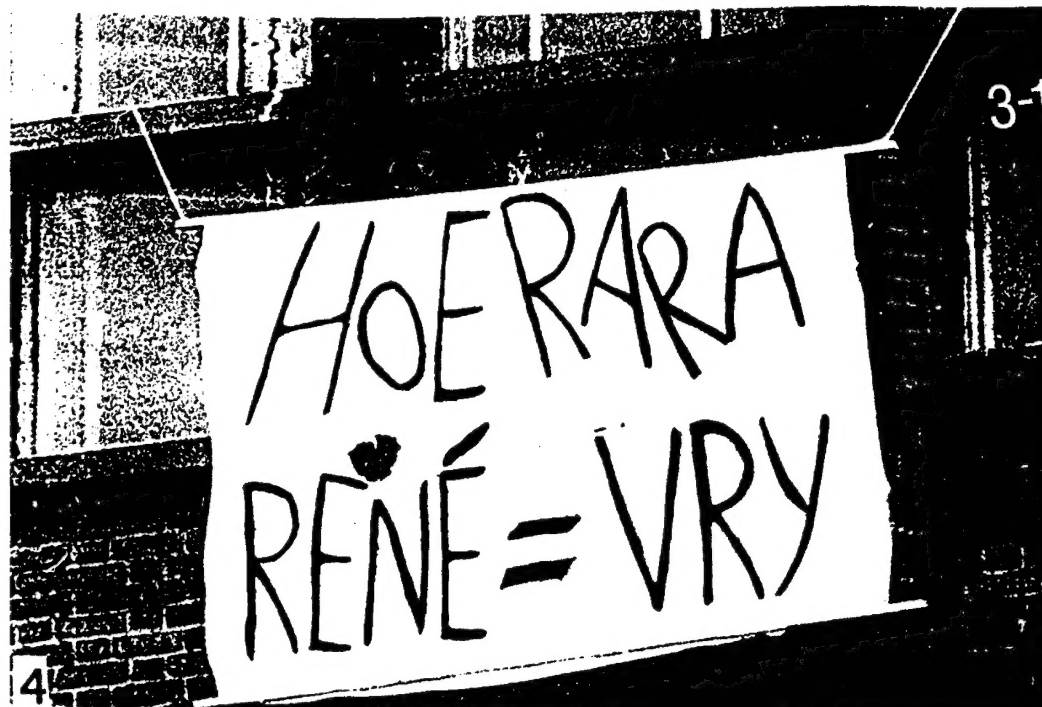
With regard to the process a few manifestations were organised concerning repression and the sharpening of the jurisdiction. A few demonstrations were held and brochures made.

These discussions found a further expression in the international demonstration at the prison which was organised at New Years Eve. While in Hamburg, Stuttgart and Berlin similar demonstration were held, 250 people joined a demonstration to and at the prison in Amsterdam where a.o. René, Halil and Mustafa (imprisoned sympathisers of Dev Sol, see also the article about the Turkish comrades) are -were- being held prisoner.

In front of the jail statements were read out, the prisoners were greeted (from this fascists, rapists and police collaborators were excluded) and a lot of firework was used; at the 'womens tower' women read out statement in dutch and spanish. The prisoners reacted happily, bashed their windows with fists and chairs and gave light signals to let us know they were there.

Before the demo took place families of prisoneers had been informed and asked to join the demonstration, which was very strong.

"Also inside everyone found it was great", according to René a few days later, outside the walls which had held him for almost 9 months!



AN ISRAELIAN BOYCOTT ?

In the past few months here in Holland, virtually no initiatives have been taken within the radical movement, towards putting the Palestinian discussion into practice. This is certainly, in part, due to the fact that the majority of the discussions that have taken place in the past year, have been governed by the daily developments within the occupied territories, as well as the political (short-term) climate.

Since the start of the Intifada, virtually every article that has been written and circulated within the alternative media circuit here in Holland, the emphasis has been placed on the need for actions to be undertaken against Israel, and wherein numerous connections have been made as to the links, financial and economical, between South Africa and Israel. These connections are necessary in order to couple the anti-apartheid campaign with a boycott-Israel campaign.

With this in mind, it is hard to except the fact that, while here in Holland, actions continue against South Africa, the uprising of the Palestinian people has been left, on the practical level, on the side-line.

One action group, G.A.Z.A.*, did decide to turn words into deeds, the result of which realised on the 10th and 11th of June 1988. On both nights, travel offices in various dutch cities were attacked with both paint-bombs and stones. In the press-statement that followed, the action group placed the emphasis not only on Palestine and on the state of Israel, but also on the ties between Sth. Africa, Israel and western european countries, and on the importance of an effective Israeli boycott.

Here follows a couple of excerpts from the press-statement;

.... "in 1983, Israel exported diamonds to the tune of one billion american dollars. All diamonds that are processed (cut and polished) in Israel come from Sth Africa, (via De Beers.) On the military level, Israel is very helpful towards Sth Africa, even though a weapons embargo is in effect. This works both ways, Israeli weapons are produced under license in Sth Africa, and Sth Africa finances Israeli weapon projects, as well as working together on the development of weapons, also on a nuclear level.... There are numerous Israeli companies that trade in Sth African products, or that use Sth African raw materials for "made in Israel" end products. Produce that finds it's way quite easily into the west european and U.S. markets, due to the fact that within these markets import duties, for Israeli products, are virtually non-existent. In this way, Israel functions as a spring-board for Sth African produce and raw materials. Western technology is also channeled, via Israel into Sth Africa. This occurs in part via Israeli daughter companies of American conglomerates (American companies are themselves forbidden to export to Sth Africa) and partly via official co-operation agreements between Israeli and Sth African universities. Dutch universities also contribute to this, via thier official co-operation with Israeli universities."

Frontline, together with Slagerzicht, decided to prepare a discussion evening, not only over the latest developments (the latest call-up of a Palestinian state), but also as a continuation of the "international solidarity" discussion. We also had planned to discuss the various aspects of setting up a boycott Israel campaign, within the radical movement. Our combined political standpoints for the discussion were as follows ;

** Both the Dutch and Israeli states share, as member states, the same interests. The aggressive zionist politics in the middle-east are only made possible due to the unconditional support given by the imperialistic states, wherein Holland.

** It offers thus no perspective to ask the Dutch state to support the palestinian fight for liberation.

** The only perspective lies, not in the form of demands, but in the direct attack on the common interests of the Israeli, Dutch and west european states.

** One component of this, is a boycott campaign.

An economical and political boycott of the zionistic state Israel.

On top of this, Frontline decided that, in order to widen the discussion, it was necessary to make the various discussions and veiw-points of comrades in other countries more available to the dutch scene. This resulted in two brochures. One was a translation of a swiss brochure, that was made up of interviews between swiss anti-imperialists and members of the P.F.L.P.*. We found this brochure worthwhile because it not only gave answers to various questions that had been raised, but had been left unanswered in the dutch scene, but also because it provided relevant and meaningful background info, both political and practical, over the Palestinian people and the Intifada.

** G.A.Z.A., anti-zionist action without borders.

** P.F.L.P., Peoples Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

The second brochure that we made, was a combination of various discussion articles, from radical groups in ; West Germany, Denmark, Italy, West Berlin and the U.S. We also included various press statements and demonstration call-ups from radical groups from the countries mentioned above. The introduction that we wrote for this brochure read as follows;

INTRODUCTION: "INTIFADA" (FRONTLINE INFO DEC:88.)

Many colourful words have been written over the Intifada, the Palestinian uprising, and even more words have been written over our solidarity with this uprising. The Palestinian struggle for self determination has been used both in and out of context, the usage of photos showing stone throwing youths has been especially popular in expressing our solidarity, or in covering up the lack of a real practical solidarity. With this brochure we want to show (approximately) a representation of the various discussions that have taken place in various countries in Europe and also in the united states. We also want to point out what we can (and must) do in order to support both practically and effectively, the Intifada, so as not to remain stuck in impersonal discussions that at present are being carried in the movement. The Palestinian solidarity week that was held here in Amsterdam by the K.M.A.N.* was a good example for us, it showed that, even from out of a difficult position both attention and time can be given to express ones solidarity with the Palestinian uprising. (The K.M.A.N. doesn't only fight for it's own interests, but is also prepared to stand up and support other groups, and it is from this approach that they organised the week).

In both Denmark and West Germany, the "white scene" also realised that they had to take practical steps in order that the theoretical solidarity that was evident, be turned into practical solidarity. Various "ANTI-Israel" or pro-Palestinian actions were realised, in the early stages a boycott campaign was achieved; the discussion was not only brought forward theoretically, but also practically. Here in Holland, our "scene" has not progressed further than the anti-apartheid-campaign (chiefly anti-Shell) which has been going on for the past few years, and within which the Palestinian-Israel issue has only, if ever, been marginally mentioned. In only a few cases did our solidarity become more than a stroll through the city (many non-enthusiastic demonstrations were held.) However these occasions went virtually unnoticed, and that has in part led to the fact that the discussions that have taken place, consist only of a theoretical contents. We want, with this brochure, to bring the discussion a step further, that is to say; to direct our solidarity towards the struggle for the liberation of the Palestinian people. An uprising that we must, here in the west, support with all possible means... By a boycott campaign, by actions against Israeli companies, actions against the export and import to and from Israel, actions against travel agents that offer/arrange tours and/or holidays in Israel..etc...

From the anti-apartheid-campaign that we have been involved with in the last few years, we have learnt a lot, both theoretically and practically. This experience must be used, in order to help carry our resistance further, further than a solidarity that is determined, influenced and motivated by daily events. During the anti-apartheid-campaign, the struggle for self determination by other peoples elsewhere in the world has been left far too much in the background. International solidarity means to fight against repression and exploitation world-wide, and at the same time to also support here, in Western Europe, the struggles of oppressed and exploited peoples for self-determination; International solidarity must never be used to mobilise for any one particular political motivation. Our struggle for self-determination is the same as that of other peoples, world-wide.

We support and undersign the slogans and call-ups that have been made by comrades in other countries.....

- DO NOT BUY PRODUCTS FROM ISRAEL OR SOUTH AFRICA
- DO NOT TRAVEL TO ISRAEL OR SOUTH AFRICA
- DO NOT WORK ON A KIBBUTZ.

Together with liberation and peoples movements wherever on earth, fight for self-determination.

RESIST AND REVOLT.....

FRONTLINE INFO.

The evening itself was not, as was hoped, constructive towards building up or discussing the various means that need to be applied, in order to initiate an effective boycott campaign. Nor was it successful with regard to the continuation of the "international solidarity" discussion. This was due to two main factors. Firstly, we had invited members of the P.F.L.P. to the evening in order that we could discuss with them various points regarding their political standpoint over the recent statements that Arafat had made in Algiers, and also to listen to, and discuss with them, the political standpoints that we had discussed for the evening.

Two members of the P.L.F.P. that we had invited from West Germany were unable to attend, they were unable to attain the necessary visa's to travel to Holland. This meant that a member of the P.F.L.P. from Holland, that had also been invited, had to explain and discuss the opinions and politics of his party, without being able to firstly discuss these issues with his comrades. He virtually commanded the entire evening, and it became quite clear to us that we were not able to offer any common opinions or arguments to what he was telling, even though many of us were not in agreement with some of the issues that he raised. For example the boycott Israel/buy Palestinian discussion. This came no further than the slogans, when in actual fact the real question of, who do we support by buying Palestinian products, the bourgeoisie or the workers class? was not even raised let alone discussed.

Since this evening we have realised that it is of utmost importance that we first, within the radical movement, discuss such issues amongst ourselves, before we enter into discussions with representatives of political parties, in order that our political position is not only clear to them, but more importantly, to ourselves.

One positive result of the evening however, was the initiation of a group, that is to concentrate on, both theoretically and practically, the starting up of an effective, radical boycott campaign, connected to the Anti-apartheid campaign. Hopefully we will be able to organise another info-evening in the not too distant future. Any info from other countries over Palestine would be much appreciated.

FRONTLINE INFO. 27-1-89.



Weapon of the uprising - the slingshot

SAYS WHO?

Who says you can die for a State at the age of twelve?

Who believes that behind the stones thrown and the bottles launched against the Israeli soldiers there is the desire to see oneself represented in a Parliament of Palestinian politicians?

Who has an interest in making us believe that the objective of this insurrection is that of substituting the bible-thumping baton wielders with those of the koran: the double-breasted bosses with those in kaftans?

What is the real reason for the goading reports that the radio, TV and newspapers are reserving for the events taking place in the Gaza strip?

The same attention reserved to the Iran-Iraq war when the dead were hundreds each day? Or when the Italian fleet was heading in that direction? A true bombardment of news all filtered however through "common sense." The journalists are always ready to condemn excess on one side or the other.

Always ready to exalt any diplomatic solution that puts things in a democratic framework. Always ready to erase, to deny, any hypothesis that goes against the present state of affairs.

In South Africa the strikes in the mines or the revolts in the ghettos -- their reporting is always inspired by unions or because of the colour of their skins. We never got news from Iran and Iraq of all the proletarians on each side who were hanged because they refused to fight in a war they did not feel a part of.

The solution of the "Palestinian problem" is to be found in the recognition of the inalienable right to a State led (naturally) by the PLO.

No,
No, we don't agree,
We don't believe anything any

more!

Whoever comes out into the streets in the occupied territories of Israel, as in South Africa, does it to rebel against the material conditions that capital imposes on their lives.

Conditions that, in order to be reproduced, require social peace, the elimination of any conflict that is not symbolic.

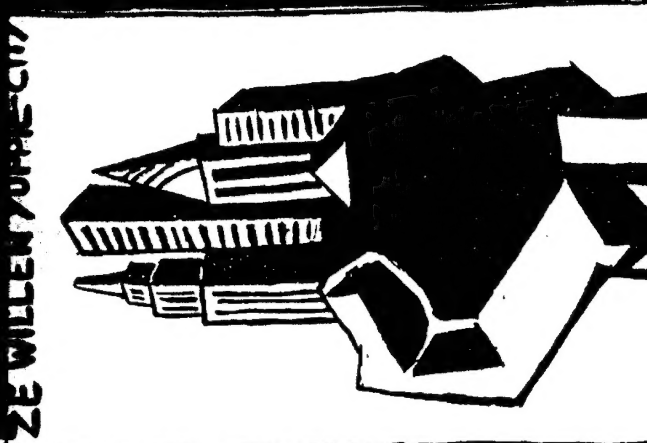
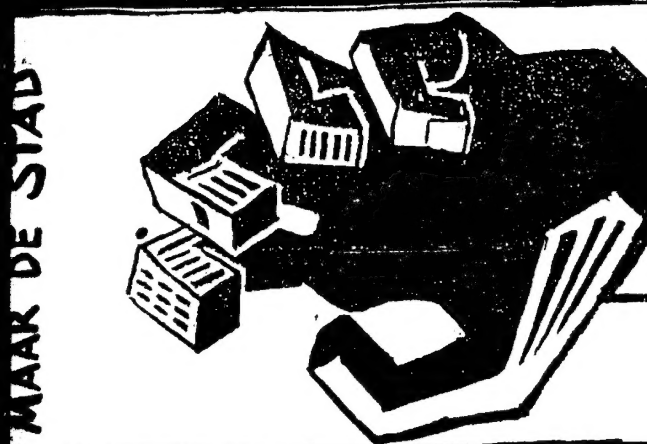
But we are not interested in symbols.

We know perfectly well that the system of capital is our enemy and survives thanks to men who are quite identifiable with precise structures such as the banks.

These are the final links of a chain that supports the continuation of oppression and exploitation. It does so with precise instruments (such as the International Monetary Fund) which organize exchange of goods and the subsequent starving of entire peoples.

Only if it is carried to within the class struggle will the struggle of the Palestinians be our struggle.

-- Leoncavallo Social Centre, Milan
Leaflet given out during a blockade of the "Cariplo" agency in Milan on January 29 in solidarity with the Palestinians in struggle.



**SPEKULANT G.W. BAKKER KAN DE POT OP
STADHOUDERSKADE 82/83
IS NIET TE ONTRUIMEN!**

ETAALBARE HUIZEN VOOR IEDEREEN

In the past 12 months, three turkish comrades have on separate occasions been shot dead after walking unknowingly into a trap.

June: Nihat Karaman, the chairman of the HTIB (the turkish workers party in Holland) was liquidated while sitting in his car outside his house, shot in the head and chest.
6 July: Ahmet Köksal, a member of Dev-Sol ('revolutionary left') was shot dead during an action in a coffeshop run by turkish fascists and mafia.
20 Dec.: Mehmet Salih Isikayadir, member of TKP-ml Tikko (the armed wing of the marxist-leninist turkish communist party), shot dead in front of a coffeshop in Amsterdam-West.

These murders were used by both the press and the police, to criminalise turkish (revolutionary) organisations. This also had an effect within the 'movement', wherein which attempts were being made to try and bring about a more concrete, solid working-together relationship with several turkish organisations. Nihat, Ahmet and Salih are certainly not the first victims of turkish right-wing terror groups that have been killed, nor shall they be the last. None of these murders have been solved. However every time, the political motive was clear, and the revolutionary organisations reacted the same. That will say, all the organisations concerned, tried, in their statements, to make it clear that the murder were carried out by fascists, with use of the mafia structures. The dutch police and media reacted with criminalisation:

Example 1

Shortly after Nihat was murdered, one of his best friends was arrested and accused of being the murderer. After a few days of questioning, he was released. The number of police working on the case was, also with the other 2 murder cases, between 5 and 10 times less than usual. After 7 days, the investigation was virtually stopped, however the intensity of the investigation of the HTIB, was increased.

Example 2

A development was brought in after Ahmet Köksal, a member of Dev-Sol, was murdered carrying out an action in a turkish coffeshop, run by turkish mafia and fascists. Two days afterwards, the police came out with an extortion story. Dev-Sol was named, and a police-photo of a financial-contribution card from Dev-Sol, was used as "evidence" for their story. Via the 'Volkskrant' (dutch social-democratic newspaper) the police stated: all turkish people that are victims of extortion must report to us... All notifications shall be treated strictly confidential". According to the policespokesman, it is important that the police quickly get a finger behind the extortion racket, in order that a spiral of violence be prevented. He stated that it concerns "normal people, but also turkish criminals". The stage is set. It has to do with "ordinary extortion" of (mainly) "normal people", and the police will do their best to quickly "solve" the case, due to their expectance of a "bloody battle". On the 10-6, a statement was released from "sympathisers of Dev-Sol in Holland". Herein was stated "on the 6th July 1988, during a money collection action for political prisoners, a militant member of Dev-Sol was shot dead by fascists ... Comrade Ahmet Köksal joined Dev-Sol in Stuttgart and was, in the past few years, in many West-European cities", on the same day a demonstration (without a demo permit) was held, against the fascist murder. Alongside sympathisers from Dev-Sol, other Turkish groups were represented, and a number of dutch people, in total around 200 people.

The statement shed new light onto 2 aspects of the case.

1) The coffeshop was a meetingplace for "fascists that are active within the mafia". The fascists had set a trap, of which Ahmed Köksal was the victim. In contradiction to the earlier reports it was realised - even the police were forced to admit it - that the fascists were the first to open fire. One of them paid for that with his life.
2) What, according to the police was extortion, was a money collection action for political prisoners according to comrades from Dev-Sol. Not a criminal act, but a form of financial support for an organisation that is forced to organise illegally. On the 27th of July, it became known that the police had undertaken a large (sweep) action against possible members of Dev-Sol, this took place in the early hours of the same day. Nine houses were raided and searched, which resulted in 5 people being arrested and detained.

According to the sensationalistic (soc-dem.) Amsterdam newspaper "Het Parool", the police had been keeping an eye on them for a number of days therefore. One of the was released after a couple of days, however the others were held until the court case. This move by the police, made their political choice clear: they concentrated on Dev-Sol and not on the fascists.

They were also co-responsible for a second wave of biased reports in the press, wherein these arrested were held responsible for the shoot-out in the coffee shop.

The transfer of the body of A. Köksal to Turkey for burial, resulted in, as with the bodies of Nihat and Salih, a lot of problems, initiated by the Turkish consulate and embassy. This, in contradiction to the other body, that of Mehmet Horoz, a regular visitor to the coffeshop, that was transferred to, and buried in Turkey without any problems.

The background for this is quite obvious. The turkish regime tried to avoid political unrest that could have occurred by and around the burial of A. Köksal in Turkey.

A number of members of the solidarity committee (made up of comrades and interested people) went into a hunger strike here in the political office of the P.S.P. (the Pacificist Socialist Party) located in Amsterdam. As a result of the pressure caused by this action, the turkish consul was forced to make available the necessary documents, which resulted in the body of A.K. being flown to Turkey on the 20th of July. A group of friends, family and comrades were waiting (in Turkey, at the airport) for the arrival of the body, 20 of them were arrested, and the body was confiscated by the Turkish police. However the next day, (most likely due to pressure from Holland) those arrested, and the body were released. A.K. was buried on Friday the 22nd of July, accompanied by a small demonstration. Shortly thereafter, 2 family members were arrested, and released, both with broken legs (!) the following day.

In reaction to this chain of events, a press conference was held, in order that these events may be more widely known.

After 3 months in for-arrest, the process against the remaining 3 suspects took place (in the meantime the 4th suspect was released due to insufficient evidence).

There was one witness for the defence, a regular client from the coffeshop in question. However he could not offer any certainty with regard to the most important links in the chain of events that took place inside the coffeshop on that day.

When the sentence was pronounced, the political importance of the entire propaganda circus from police, Justice and the press became clear. Even though only "attempt to extort" was in evidence (for which carries in Holland, the average prison term of 8 months), 2 of the suspects were sentenced to 4 years. The shooting could not be proved, however the two (Halil and Mustafa) were both sentenced for this as well. During the court sitting, the 3rd suspect was released due to lack of evidence.

Example 3

Virtually no attention was given by the press, towards the murder of Salih.

Contact between his dutch friends with his comrades from the TKP-ml Tikko came about very quickly. Salih was both well known and loved within the autonome scene in Amsterdam. He had lived in various squats, and also worked in the squatters bar, Vrankrijk. Through his international aspirations, humour and respect he became quickly a friend for many people within the scene.

On the fatal day, the 20th of Dec., Salih was the suburb of Amsterdam-West. Witnesses explained later (via the media) that they heard a loud argument taking place in the street, followed by 4 pistol shots. Salih was dead, lying in the middle of the street. Shortly thereafter, the police arrested 5 turkish people in the same area. Four of those arrested were released after spending a couple of days in arrest. The body was not released by the police until Saturday the 24-12. After a short ceremony in Vrankrijk which was held so that people could pay their last respects, a demo/burial procession was held through the city, before the body was transferred to Turkey. 150 people were present, the demo consciously went into the area where Salih was murdered. In front of the coffee shop, outside which the murder took place, a statement was read out aloud, with the help of a megaphone.

Then followed a quick succession of events, events that shocked both dutch and turkish demonstrators, and that was to test-out the underlying solidarity. Concrete decisions had been made beforehand; during the demo, pamphlets were dealt out to passers-by. Some people from out of the demo, went into this coffee shop to hand over pamphlets. Suddenly a shot was fired. A few turkish people ran (from out of the demo) towards the coffee shop, while at the same time those that had gone inside to deal out the pamphlet ran out of the doffee shop. There was a lot of uncertainty as to what had occurred. One person shot 5 times (from outside) through the glass window of the coffee shop.

The demo then re-grouped and continued, back towards the city-center. The atmosphere within the demo had taken a somewhat heavy, sullen mood. Approximately 15 minutes after the demo had split up, the police attacked a group of people that had taken part in the demo. They tried to arrest someone that had been pointed out to them by a passer-by, who had stated to the police that he had been threatened by the person concerned. This resulted in a short but intense fight, and 3 Turkish comrades were arrested. A couple of days later all of them were released and 2 were deported from Holland, one to W-Germany, the other to France. After the demonstration, the story "broke" in the press. Both the demonstration and the organisation of which Salih was a member, the TKP-ml Tikko, were put under fire, however as to the murder of Salih, nothing was said.

Fascists and Dev-Sol

The terror and violence from fascists, directed at the left-wing, started in 1968, chiefly towards students, striking workers and demonstrations. Between '75-'78, the fascist party, the M.H.P. was the ruling party in Turkey. In this period, over 1000 deaths per year were attributed to the terror campaign from the Grey Wolves.

All of the left wing groups began to arm themselves, the majority from out a defensive point of view - Only a few groups, so as Dev-Sol, realised the necessity to actively fight against the fascists in order to achieve a victory. The struggle was concentrated mainly in the ghetto's of the major cities in Turkey, and it was also in these ghetto's where, at the same time, Dev-Sol was active and organised. The history of Dev-Sol is closely bound in to actively fighting fascism.

Death squads

The pattern of so-called autonome operating fascists (that is to say, people that liquidate enemies of the regime, whereby it seems that the regime is not able to contro these groups, because in fact they are given virtually free reign, and are never arrested), are not only to be found in the "(young) democratic Turkey", in El Salvador, Colombia and the Philippines, "death squads" are very active. However it is clear that these 'death squads' do work under the direct control of the regime in question. The image of the autonome 'death squads' must be upheld, so that the democratic masks from these regimes do not crack or dissolve. And Turkey's democratic image is of course of great importance, in the light of Turkey's coming entry into the common market. The events since the fascistic coup of 1980 (a short summary)

The Evren dictatorship used pure blood-terror against citizen- and radical opposition, and at the same time set programmes in motion, that the IMF had demanded as pre-requisites that were necessary before much needed money would be lent to Turkey by the IMF. The programmes led to even further exploitation and suppression of the Turkish people. The arrival of "the citizens government" from Özal in 1983 was introduced with slogans such as "democracy", and the people have yet to see these developments in this direction.

Virtually all left-wing organisation were forbidden after the coup was exacted. Ten thousand people were arrested, and torture and executions became the order of the day. The leaders from many groups, that were unprepared for these developments, fled out of Turkey, leaving behind many members of organisations completely unprepared. Both the leaders and members of Dev-Sol remained in Turkey, and carried on the (armed) fight.

No changes came about with the start of the "citizens government" from Özal. Various left-wing organisations, unified in Sol Birlik (left unity), disagreed with the continuation of the armed struggle, and sought dialogue with the Özal regime. Of the groups that did not do this, Dev-Sol is, at the moment, the most important, alongside the Kurdish P.K.K.. They are, both by the Turkish regime and in W-Europe (especially in W-Germany), seen as, and also propagated as "terrorists".

D. Karatas, spokesman for Dev-Sol, hereover:

"Whenever terrorism means that, in a land such as ours, the power structures need to be broken, then we are terrorists. Whenever terrorism means that, in order to fight the fascists that suppress the people; to protect the lives of the population, to free the society from the fascistic occupation, and to get rid of the fascists, one takes up arms, the we are terrorists. And further, when Ho Chi Minh is a terrorist, and the supporters of the FSLN in Nicaragua, and the revolutionaries in El Salvador are terrorists, then it is true, the we are terrorists."

The Turkish mafia

Turkey is an important heroin producer. Even though a large part of this production has been destroyed, due to anti-drugs operation, it has been proven that the Turkish mafia, to this day, still have a large stake in the drugs smuggling operations (heroin and hash) from the Middle East to Western Europe. Turkey, within which many drugs laboratories are present, is not the only, but certainly the most important transfer station for the above mentioned drugs. Indications have also been shown, as to the importance of the Turkish mafia for the Afghans mujahadeen. The rebels, that finance their war partly via their marihuana crops. The importance of Turkey in this process, is not only defined by the geographical strategic position of the country, but more importantly by the relative power, and thus possibilities of the mafia within Turkey and West Europe. An important point in this transport route is Amsterdam, where, after a bloody battle with the Chinese, in the 70ties, they took over the heroin business. This power is still in force, ever increasing.

The connection between the mafia and the fascists

After the military coup of '80, the operations of the Grey Wolves were unnecessary. The military attack to everyone that was in disagreement with their ideology, and all left-wing organisations were forbidden. Many MHP & Grey Wolf members turned in this period towards the mafia practise, which included the drug business. The relationship between the mafia and the MHP, was formulated before '80. Gun Sazak drug barron, holder of large tracts of land, and in '79 the minister of monopolies and borders for the MHP party, was killed by Dev-Sol. The direct reason for this action was the fact that Sazak was responsible for many mass murders in Turkey. Such as that in K.Maras.

Right up to today, the ex M.H.P.ers still have a big slice of the action in the mafia business. And it has become clearer that the profits from their endeavours are channelled into the organisation of a new fascistic-party, lead by Turkes, which is the M.C.P. (the nationalistic workers party). Within the mafia, these fascists form a special separate group, consisting mainly of ex M.H.P.ers who are also, almost certainly busy with the building up of the MCP. Other ex MHPers have joined Özal "Motherland party". Concrete evidence of structural activities of these fascists are extremely hard to obtain, their practice and contact are not carried out publicly. However the good relationship between the MCP/mafia and the Turkish secret service and the police, play an important part in these activities.

A spokesman from Dev-Sol, over the connection between the fascists and the mafia: "The (forbidden) party from Turkes, which is strictly organised and well armed, and has operated within the mafia since 1980. With the money that the Grey Wolves obtain from the heroin business, they buy weapons, they work behind "fronts" such as mosque or coffee shops, so-called "meeting places for cultural minority groups". A couple of months ago Turkes, the leader of the fascists, visited many cities in Holland and other west European countries, including Amsterdam. He was chairman of various secret meetings, where the elimination of left-wing Turk people was discussed."

In a statement from comrades of N. Karaman over his death, released soon after the murder, an excerpt: "It will not surprise us if within the near future more provocat are realised, to dilute the complot behind the murder of our friend Nihat Karaman, to blacken, at the same time, all the left wing forces."

A strategy against the drugs mafia

Similarities can, although not on the same scale, be made with the situation in other drug producing/handling countries (Colombia, Peru, Thailand etc.). Various factors, such as the amount of people involved within the drugs-sector, the increasing poor-rich divisions within a country, the existence of a 'drugs-elite' and their involvement in counter-revolutionary activities, play a role in all of these countries. The existence of these factors make it necessary for all left wing organisation that are already established within the countries concerned to develop on various levels, a strategy against the drug-sector and the connected mafia/fascistic structures.

That is hard for us to imagine. Here in the west, where a large number of drug-addicts are, the attacking of drugs-networks does not take priority for the radical/revolutionary.

The discussion deals (if at all) with another aspect: the help for and rights of addicts. Only in northern Ireland and Euskadi (Basque country) do we see hard action undertaken against the upper-middle sector of the drugs-maffia, these actions are carried out by the (respectively) IRA and ETA. Within both the Irish and Basque liberation movements, the enormous 'pushing' of drugs and drug-use, and thus the results: de-politicalisation and total destruction of the users, has played an important part in both the social and political development of these movements. Back to the development of a strategy against drugs/maffia/fascistic structures. The biggest danger with this lies in taking hold of the opportunity, in other words, the risk remains, that within the process of revolutionary strength development these structures could be used instead of destroyed.

If, and if so, to what degree, opportunism is present, is difficult to judge. There is no single revolutionary organisation that can completely 'throw open the doors', concerning all its activities. This judgement is made even more difficult when one sees the mountain of disinformation that contra's use, to incriminate and link left wing revolutionary organisations, and the drugs system. The most absurd example of this, is the 'evidence' that the USA says to have found, concerning co-operation between drug-dealers and the sandinistas in Nicaragua. This is even more cynical, when one sees the direct organisation from the US of the integrated contra-drugs network, which was set in against Nicaragua.

Working together with turkish groups

Since approximately 2 years ago, various initiatives have been undertaken, by both the dutch 'scene' and various Turkish groups, to work towards a better, more consequent way of discussing and working together. Sympathisers from Dev-Sol were, from the Turkish groups, mostly active with this. However, all the time all kinds of problems arose. On the one hand the Turkish groups had a lot of difficulty with the ruling lack of continuous structures within the movement, on the other hand the radical dutch groups have a lot of criticism on the patriarchal and hierarchal structures within many Turkish groups. At the same time this is also a large problem within the dutch 'scene' but here it is a more hidden phenomenon. Sometimes these problems seem unbeatable, and one could say that on the whole these attempts haven't been very successful. At most some groups have discussions together or organise an action with each other (e.g. during the IMF-week or at the prison demonstration on New Years Eve). Often these problems lead to misunderstanding and confusion. Especially in the cases of the murders of Ahmet and Salih a lot of people didn't know exactly what had happened. Explanations were asked for, also however these didn't always lead to more insight, especially because of the difference in tactics, strategy and history between the Turkish and Dutch radicals, however also because of a lack of trust. After the murder of Ahmet a few meetings were held, where the circumstances under which Ahmet was killed were clearly described. It was also made clear why there couldn't be complete openness, even towards the dutch radical movement. However when it came to the point of further going co-operation, a lot of people refused to continue, mainly because of the above-mentioned reasons. After the murder of Salih the actual co-operation between dutch radicals and the organisation of Salih did come about very quickly. However not because of fundamental agreement, but because of the fact that a lot of people had come to know and respect Salih as a friend. Now also the concept that it were merely incidents, was dropped by many people, who started to accept the idea that this was a planned assassination, carried out by fascist. These two points were the reason for the fact that more people declared their solidarity with and also walked in the demonstrative procession. This solidarity was put under pressure after the events around the coffee shop. The question arose whether this was a planned action as a warning to the fascists, or maybe a provocation, or, as the members of the TKP-ml Tikko said later, an outburst of fury from an old comrade of Salih. After some discussions with them, in which it was tried to reconstruct what had happened it appeared that their interpretation was different from ours, a lot stayed unclear and abstract and that's why today it still is not clear what has exactly happened at the dem. All in all it is difficult to co-operate with regard to the above mentioned problems. At this moment the only possibility is to critically discuss the differences between us, and to use, in practice, our similarities so as to fully make use of our common strength. That is the only way that we can also take a real step forward on this point, in critical connection with comrades from other countries, with respect for our differences with regards to background and history, however critically discussing differences of opinion.

"RED YOUTH" VISIT TO AMSTERDAM.

Last year, as a result of an exchange program with the K.M.A.N.+youth organisation, 60 members of the Rode Jeugd (red youth) from Brussel visited Amsterdam. This took place between the 26th and the 31st of December.

The Rode Jeugd (the french branch is called Rebel) is the youth organisation of the P.V.D.A. (the workers party) in Belgium. The P.V.D.A. is a marxist/leninist political party and is not represented in the belgian parliament. It is mainly involved with the struggle in Belgium against racism and fascism. It also supports the fight against imperialism, as well as supporting revolutionary groups in other countries. The Rode Jeugd is well organised and are active in many areas and cities in Belgium. The members are aged between 13 and 26 years old, and they concentrate their activities mainly within schools, against fascism and racism. However they also are involved with other activities, for example the mobilisation for demo's for Palestine, against the NATO etc. Approximately half of the group that visited Amsterdam were female, and about 40% were from Marrocco and a few young people were from Zaire. The migrant youth take an active role in the various discussions within the RJ (Rode Jeugd), as well as placing special attention on issues that occur in their lands of origin. For example, the struggle of the Palestinian people and the anti-apartheid struggle, it is clear to them that these struggles are very relevant to the struggle of many other arabian groups for liberation from Western imperialism.

The Brussel based RJ wanted to visit Amsterdam, not only to meet members of the K.M.A.N. but also to see how things were with the "famous" tolerance for foreigners, for which Holland is renowned. SAYS WHO!

They chose two main themes for their 5 day visit, squatting and anti-racism. Squatting, firstly because it is non-existent in Belgium, and secondly because of an interest for the social-movement that is a part of the squatting movement. As to squatting, various activities were organised; this included visits to alternative living/working projects, printers, squatters bars, info-centers, bookshops, a folks kitchen, a soon to be evicted house, a squatters advice group etc. An evening in a squatted bar was held, where a video over the start of and developments in the squatters movement was shown. This was followed by a brief history of the anti-racist-racist movement in Holland and also a talk was given over the refugee politics by a representative of a group that is involved with helping refugees.

In the brief evaluation that the RJ made before they returned to Brussel, it became clear that the majority of them found this part of the week a very informative, learning and enjoyable experience. As one of them stated; "I thought that squatters were a load of idiots that lived in squatted houses for the lark". They did not realise that squatting has a lot to do with the fight against house speculators, living condition politics from the state, as well as the fight for self-determination.

The vegetarian meals that were served in squatters restaurants, were at first the cause for jokes, however this was discussed seriously later on.

Anti-racism, anti-fascism as well as the position of immigrants were all intensively discussed in meetings. Not only was a lot of information exchanged, there was also a lot of criticism voiced, in reaction to an article that appeared in a newspaper entitled, "Marroccan youth gangs terrorise the center of Amsterdam". This article was the first of a series of smear campaign articles to appear in the media, and was supported by the major and aldermen of Amsterdam. A press conference was organised by the K.M.A.N., where both the dutch and belgian groups told the press the possible results of such victimisation. The RJ told of a similar campaign in Brussel. The commission Brussel-city wrote and published a similar report two years ago entitled "Criminal Marroccan youth in the city center of Brussel". The result of such smear campaigns are all too well known in Brussel; two deaths, (migrant youths suspected of shop-lifting, both shot in the back by police, who view every migrant as a dangerous criminal) plus a number of maltreated and injured migrant people, also the victims of police brutality. The report in Amsterdam was seen by the Belgians to pass within this line; as dangerous, promoting racism and over-simplified.

With reference to the discussions over racism and the position of migrants in western european countries, an evening was set aside for "Europe 1992"; the interpretation and consequences of this for both migrants and refugees within western Europe. An afternoon was also spent at the city council building, where a council member tried to convince everyone as to the "fantastic" anti-drugs campaign carried out by the city council. Luckily there was a young Marroccan guy present (who works with drug addicts within this program) who told the real story; "Anti-drugs campaign-no way. I work with

addicts involved in this program. They start of taking 6 methadon tablets and end up taking 20, and you call that "kicking the habit". They are more addicted after such a program than before they started, and then you've got the nerve to talk about criminal Marroccan junkies etc.. You are making junkies with your so-called "anti-drugs campaign". This put an end to the afternoon and the councils bullshit.

The week's highlight was the party that the RJ gave for the Dutch groups. Political theater over the anti-apartheid struggle, Palestina and racism in Belgium, accompanied by both Marroccan and Zairean music. The evening ended with Arabic poetry and both African and Palestinian slogans and songs.

All said and done a successful week. Lots of information being exchanged and new arrangements made. On the 10th of February, 45 young people from the RJ in Antwerpen will be in Amsterdam for 3 days, and at the end of March, some of us from Amsterdam will be taking part in the international youth camp. This camp is arranged by the RJ and is to be held in the Belgium Ardenen. The theme for this camp is anti-imperialism. For more info over this camp, the Rode Jeugd or the P.V.D.A., the address is;

The weekly paper from the PVDA is "solidair",
the address is: Lemonnierlaan 171
post box 10
1000 Brussel
Belguim.

It is published in two languages, french and dutch.

Rode Jeugd-RJ
International centrum
Lemonnierlaan 171
1000 Brussel
Belguim.
Tel: 02-513 10 95.



1.2.1989

Today we have commenced a hunger strike.

We are not going to let ourselves be stopped, the demands must now be fulfilled.

For everyone that wants to know what isolation is, it is an international understood term for torture.

They have taken the isolation, that is the normality for revolutionaries from the guerilla or the resistance, or for comrades from other countries, and are also using it against the active social prisoners. Internationalle, it receives increasing attention as being the pure deceitful instrument of the precise german-european.

This has to be broken. Up to the present, we have carried out 9 hunger strikes, 2 prisoners died, and many of us have health problems, resulting from these hunger strikes. Now an end must come to this torture that has been used, continually, for the last 18 years. This is our definite decision, and so we shall fight.

Nothing much needs to be added. Both our position and our demands are clear.

To once again explain the isolation and why we must be together, only brings frustration. These frank words, and the repetition of them, are actually distortions of the actual situation. We shall, during the hunger strike, release more press statements, here are now a couple of the main subjects which concern us.

We cannot continue, so as it is now. The aim of isolation, right from the start, is to destroy the prisoners and to choke the politics of the RAF. This has not been successful upon us, however we will not carry the weight any longer. It is so that we no longer, are prepared to carry this burden. And so is the situation. This is both a political and a survival decision that we have taken. Because, even though we could once again resist their machine of destruction, and even though we could win over a few new developments - there is a limit, wherein the permanent struggle of the individual, and the everlasting heavily reduced way of life for a political prisoner as a member of a political group can no longer be continued.

This has now been achieved.

So as we have seen within the cycle of hunger strikes over the years it has always only been possible to carry on for a limited amount of time. However within this struggle, we have in the past been able to defend our fighting-identity, and our collectivity even through the individualisation, and bring this to life.

Until the point was reached where, what we had fought for in the prisons was burnt up. We are not just adding another hunger strike to this process, that is no longer possible, the only aim that we now must realise, is the material aim.

We want the collective placement of prisoners into a group to take place now, and then we can put an end to this long drawn out phase, and continue further.

We are not prepared to engage in foreseen reactions from the BRD-state such as "the isolation shall be stopped". This is a facade, apart and yet fitting. The state will use this to manoeuvre away from the criticism of isolation, without any principall changes for us being undertaken. No more of this, after all these years. That must be clear, right from the start. We have always been prepared to take the steps deemed necessary. Now we are only concerned with the collective placement of the prisoners. To believe, that with a new cover up, that they call a 'normalisation' of the prison regime, they can take away the foundation of our struggle for the collective placement of prisoners is a mistake. We are only concerned with the collective placement.

The situation not only isn't the same as it was before - the importance of going against the isolation in order to create possibilities for a rival, counter structure, under these conditions - nothing remains as it was.

For us, within the time that has passed, this demand has received a solid meaning. It has been due to our living development and our underlying relations, that we have survived this period, and our commitment has become a part of ourselves, like arms or legs.

No longer can anyone take that away, no-one can turn it around. This is a concrete result of the struggle against the extermination, to put it once and for all simply: the dialectical product of their measures.

And now, from that what they have been trying for the last 18 years, in all possible ways, the differences could not be ironed out. That is to say they must not only eat the filthy morsel, because that is what the placement of political prisoners together means for them, they will also have to swallow it.

It has not only to do with the subjective meaning, it has to do with much more, also concerning the political developments.

In practice our situation, and therein our possibilities - and what within the actual situation is desired in order to continue - are, for a long time now already separated from each other. Although we still don't have the communal placement of prisoners, a question has already arisen to do with a far reaching perspective, in what ever regard, for the political prisoners in general.

This has to do with us, from all sides people want something from us - however we cannot talk together, and it is virtually impossible to negotiate. With us, we function together, only together.

And without us nothing can eventuate, that must be clear, after all the attempts they have made in the last few years, ignoring us, trying to get one thing or another together. We want now to take part in the general political discussions.

That is the other side of the demand for the collective placement of political prisoners.

New question points have arisen from out many developments, both here and international the confrontation is being met on an entirely new level, whereby everywhere, both sides of the objective, and the formulation of the political preparation for the struggle once again observes a place in the agenda. That also is a mirror image of the fact that here once again from both corners, the question over the prisoners has been raised. The state comes up with clemency, conformist groups desire amnesty, and the revolutionary resistance, once again takes up the responsibility to fight for the freedom of the political prisoners.

We feel that the time is ripe for this confrontation. This shall however only become evident within the process of discussion and practice, wherein the revolutionary politics here, become a new, meaningful factor.

Our struggle for the collective placement of political prisoners, must at this moment be a part of this. Due to the many new attempts in the past year, due to the willingness that has been shown from various sectors of the resistance, we feel that a new unity in the revolutionary struggle is possible. Many factors point to the fact that a turn around, with regard to the reviding factor in the left resistance since the '70's, is being effected. The struggle in the metropolises can once again take a place in the international confrontation. With this, completely new political possibilities can rise up.

We hope so.

The collective placement of the political prisoners is at present the most important for us. After this, we want the discussion, over the general situation - and for our freedom. On this point, with regard to the practice, we are determined.

Naturally freedom is what we aim for. We for once do not want to be an example of a political group in imprisonment, a counter weight, as prisoners. That is not something that, in reality, pleases us.

We feel, in the light of all that is in the development process, that that is an achievable possibility to fight for. The collective placement of political prisoners, we see it as a bridge.

This time we will use a new form of the collective struggle. During the last hunger strike, they introduced a law. The "coma law", to unbind us. This means that the individual that lies in coma, can, via a lengthy medical-technical manipulation, be held on the intensive care ward, with the result that the personal will, and the opportunity to make ones own decisions, are taken away. With regard to the total confrontation, that means that they want to restrict the decision making into a short period. In reality, this means a time span between 2-3 months, considering the fact that many of us, at the same time, will be on the verge of death.

Maybe many of us will die in a short head-on confrontation and that they shall "take in stride", so as they stated the last time, after which, as they see it, an end has come about.

That would also mean that our fighting method would be politically turned against us. When many of us are dead, how can the others come together?

We shall turn that around, and carry out an elongated struggle. Everyone of us is the collective. We begin together, and after two weeks we shall take up a different form, all but 2 shall stop, after another 2 weeks two more shall re-join, after another 2 weeks, another 2 shall re-join and so on. We do not let go until we have achieved the collective placement of the political prisoners.

We demand:

THE COLLECTIVE PLACEMENT OF ALL PRISONERS
FROM THE GUERRILLA AND THE RESISTANCE IN
ONE OR TWO LARGE GROUPS,
AND WHEREIN NEW PRISONERS CAN BE INTEGRATED,
WITH ACCESS TO THE COMMON EXERCISE YARDS.
THE COLLECTIVE PLACEMENT OF ALL PRISONERS
THAT THEREFORE FIGHT.

RELEASEMENT OF ALL PRISONERS WHOSE RECOVERY
AFTER SICKNESS, INJURY OR TORTURE THROUGH
ISOLATION UNDER PRISON CONDITIONS IS
IMPOSSIBLE.

RELEASEMENT OF GUNTER SONNENBERG, CLAUDIA
WANNERSDORFER, BERND ROSSNER AND
ANGELIKA GODER.

FREE MEDICAL TREATMENT, WITHOUT CONTROL
FROM THE STATE SECURITY SERVICES,
FOR ALL PRISONERS.

FREE POLITICAL INFORMATION AND
COMMUNICATION FOR THE PRISONERS WITH
ALL SOCIAL GROUPS.

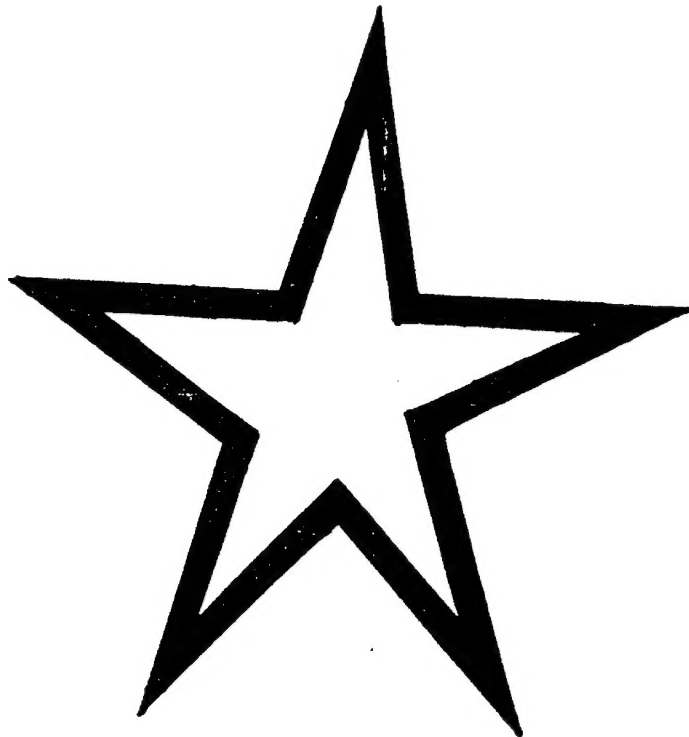
on behalf of the prisoners from
the RAF, Helmut Pohl.

1.2.'89.

HUNGERSTREIKERKLÄRUNG

der gefangenen aus der raf

1.2.89



wir sind seit heute im hungerstreik.

jetzt lassen wir nicht mehr los. die zusammenlegung muss jetzt erreicht werden.

jeder, der es wissen will, weiss was die isolation ist, sie ist international begriffen und als folter definiert.

hier haben sie inzwischen die isolation für gefangene revolutionäre, ob aus guerilla, aus dem widerstand oder ausländische genossen und genossinnen zur regel gemacht, und sie setzen sie gegen kämpfende soziale gefangene ein - international wird sie als die saubere perfide methode der feinen brd-europäer immer mehr übernommen.

hier muss sie gebrochen werden.

neun hungerstreiks haben wir gemacht, zwei gefangene sind darin gestorben, viele von uns haben gesundheitsschäden.

jetzt muss schluss sein mit dieser achtzehn jahre langen tortur. das ist unser definitiver entschluss, so werden wir kämpfen.

es gibt dazu nicht mehr viel zu erklären. unsere situation und unsere forderung sind klar. uns sträubt sich inzwischen auch schon alles, von der isolation noch zu reden und davon, dass wir zusammen wollen. diese dürrer wörter und ihre wiederholung sind schon ein hohn auf die wirklichkeit in den gefängnissen. im lauf des streiks wollen wir dann noch öfter etwas sagen, jetzt nur ein paar hauptsachen, worum es uns geht.

wir machen so nicht mehr weiter.

das ziel der isolation war von anfang an, die gefangenen zu zerstören, um die politik der raf zu ersticken. damit sind sie an uns gescheitert - aber wir ertragen es so auch nicht mehr. wir wollen es jetzt nicht mehr aushalten, so ist es. das ist jetzt unsere politische und unsere existenzielle entscheidung. denn wenn wir uns auch gegen ihren zerstörungsautomat behaupten konnten, und wenn wir selbst in dieser lage noch entscheidendes neues für uns gewonnen haben - es gibt eine grenze, an der der permanente kampf der einzelnen und die ständig weit reduzierte lebensweise als gefangene politische gruppe für uns nicht mehr gehen. die ist jetzt da.

es ging immer nur eine begrenzte zeit, an den hungerstreikzyklen durch all die jahre ist es abzulesen. in ihnen haben wir unsere identität im kampf verteidigt und uns die kollektivität in der vereinzelung immer wieder lebendig gemacht.

bis das, was wir uns aus dem kampf in die löcher geholt hatten, wieder aufgebraucht war.

jetzt fügen wir dem nicht mehr noch einen streik nur dazu, das ist nicht mehr möglich, jetzt gibt es für uns nur noch das materielle ziel.

wir wollen jetzt die zusammenlegung, und wir wollen damit auch diese ganze lange phase abschliessen - und dann wollen wir weiter

auf eine absehbare reaktion "die isolation wird aufgehoben", also kosmetik, einzelne, differenziertere anpassungen, die dem brd-staat nur die angriffe wegen der isolation vom hals schaffen sollen und für uns nicht das grundlegende ändern, werden wir uns nicht mehr einlassen. nicht mehr nach dieser langen zeit. das soll von anfang an klar sein. wir haben immer jede kleine veränderung genutzt, waren immer zu schritten bereit. jetzt gibt es aber nichts mehr als die zusammenlegung.

zu glauben, mit einer neuen aufmachung, was sich dann vielleicht "normalvollzug" nennt, unserem kampf zusammenzukommen den boden entziehen zu können, ist ein irrtum. das heisst dann nur eine neue runde. es gibt nichts mehr als die zusammenlegung.

es ist auch nicht mehr nur das alte - die notwendigkeit gegen die isolation und die möglichkeit einer gegenstruktur in diesen bedingungen - in diesem brennofen bleibt nichts wie es war. die forderung hat für uns in der zeit auch eine viel weitergehende materialität bekommen. nur aus den beziehungen zueinander und deren permanente lebendige entwicklung sind wir durch diese zeit gekommen - und darin ist unser zusammenhang teil von uns geworden wie arme und beine. das nimmt uns heute niemand mehr, das dreht keiner zurück. es ist eine materialität, die der kampf gegen die vernichtung geschaffen hat - und das selbe jetzt einfach auch mal so: es ist das dialektische produkt ihrer massnahmen. und nachdem die jetzt achtzehn jahre mit allen varianten so stehen und keine "normalität" damit exekutiert werden konnte, müssen sie die kröte, die die zusammenlegung für sie ist, auch schlucken.

aber nicht nur subjektiv, auch bezogen auf die politische entwicklung geht es schon um mehr. in der wirklichkeit klaffen unsere situation und damit unsere möglichkeiten - und was die reale situation insgesamt verlangt, damit es weitergeht, längst weit auseinander.

während wir die zusammenlegung noch nicht haben, entwickelt sich schon die frage nach einer weitergehenden perspektive für die politischen gefangenen überhaupt. es geht um uns, von allen seiten will man was von uns - aber wir können nicht zusammen reden und kaum handeln. es läuft bei uns nur zusammen. und ohne uns läuft es dabei nicht. das sollte aus den vielen versuchen in den letzten jahren, über uns wegzubügeln, doch klar geworden sein. wir wollen jetzt an der gesamten politischen diskussion teilnehmen. das ist die andere seite der zusammenlegung.

aus einer ganzen reihe von entwicklungen, hier und international, sind neue fragestellungen entstanden. es ist insgesamt eine neue stufe der auseinandersetzungen geworden, in der überall, auf beiden seiten, die ziele, die formulierung der politik, die formierung für den kampf ein neues mal angegangen werden. auch das ist eine widerspiegelung davon, dass hier aus beiden richtungen neu die frage nach den gefangenen hochgekommen ist. der staat bringt begnadigungen, staatskonforme gruppen wollen eine amnestie - und der revolutionäre widerstand nimmt wieder auf, dass die freiheit der politischen gefangenen erkämpft werden muss.

auch wir meinen, dass diese auseinandersetzung jetzt reif ist. das wird aber nur in einem prozess von diskussion und praxis weitergebracht werden, in dem revolutionäre politik hier zu einem neuen realen faktor wird. unser kampf für die zusammenlegung jetzt soll ein teil davon sein aus vielen ansätzen im letzten jahr, aus der offenheit und dem willen quer durch verschiedene zusammenhänge im widerstand, halten wir eine neue einheit im revolutionären kampf für möglich. es zeichnet sich jetzt schon eine umkehrung der linken rückentwicklung seit ende der 70er jahre ab. der kampf in der metropole kann auch neu in die internationale auseinandersetzung kommen. dann werden auch ganz neue politische möglichkeiten in der brd eröffnet sein. wir hoffen das.

die zusammenlegung ist jetzt für uns das erste. dann wollen wir die diskussion. zur gesamten situation - und für unsere freiheit. darauf spitzt es sich für uns praktisch zu.

denn die freiheit ist natürlich unser ziel. wir wollen ja nicht ein stück politischer organisation im gefängnis etablieren, eine gegenstruktur als gefangene ist wirklich nicht unser höchstes glück.

wir halten es aus allem für möglich, das dann als realistisches ziel anzupacken. soweit ist konsens unter uns. für das weitere, wie das zu konkretisieren ist, müssen wir zusammen sein. wir haben die zusammenlegung als übergang bestimmt.

wir nehmen jetzt eine neue form von kollektivem kampf. im letzten streik haben sie ein gesetz gemacht, mit dem sie uns das mittel hungerstreik nehmen wollten. das "komagesetz".

es bedeutet, dass dem einzelnen im koma in einer langgestreckten medizinisch-technischen manipulation in der intensivstation der will und die entscheidungsfähigkeit, den kampf weiterzuführen, genommen werden soll. es bedeutet weiter für die auseinandersetzung insgesamt dass sie die zuspitzung und entscheidung auf einen engen zeitraum bringen wollen, praktisch auf einen punkt, den, wenn nach zwei, drei monaten viele von uns gleichzeitig auf der kippe sind. es sterben dann vielleicht mehrere, aber dann in einer kurzen, frontalen konfrontation - und die "tragen" sie, wie sie letztes mal gesagt haben und dann, stellen sie sich vor, ist schluss. und das würde auch bedeuten, dass das mittel des kampfes politisch sich gegen uns dreht. denn in dieser kulmination für alle zum selber zeitpunkt, käme die frage nach sinn und ziel auf uns zurück. wenn viele tot sind, wie wollen die anderen dann zusammen sein.

wir werden ihnen das umdrehen und einen langgezogenen kampf führen. jeder von uns ist das kollektiv. wir fangen alle zusammen an. nach zwei wochen gehen wir in eine kett über. bis auf zwei unterbrechen alle, nach wieder zwei wochen kommen die nächsten zwei wieder dazu, nach den nächsten zwei wochen wieder zwei, und weiter. wir lassen jetzt nicht mehr los, bis wir die zusammenlegung haben.

wir fordern :

zusammenlegung aller gefangenen aus guerilla und widerstand in ein oder zwei grosse gruppen, in die neue gefangene integriert werden, mit zugang zu den gemeinschaftshöfen. zusammenlegung aller gefangenen, die dafür kämpfen.

freilassung der gefangenen, deren wiederherstellung nach krankheit, verletzung oder folter durch isolation unter gefängnisbedingungen ausgeschlossen ist. freilassung von günter sonnenberg, claudia wannersdorfer, bernd rössner, angelika goder. freie medizinische versorgung ohne staatsschutzkontrolle für alle gefangenen.

freie politische information und kommunikation der gefangenen mit allen gesellschaftlichen gruppen.

für die gefangenen aus der raf
helmuth pohl
1.2.89